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178 would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

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86 Considering the first alternative,[3] there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the
[854] ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

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861 Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to re-
[183] spect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for en-
[867] forcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

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855 For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls
155 were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an
155 act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning
862 process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

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86 Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later.

[3] [i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant: